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PREFACE

LATE in the autumn of 1920, I received information that the remote and little-known valley of Maṛev-Wāḍwan contained numerous objects of antiquarian interest. My informant, Pt. Vishva Nāth, of Brāri-āngan, finding my curiosity aroused, regaled me further with a highly-coloured account of big caves whose ceilings were painted with old unknown characters of immense size, inscriptions on rocks which nobody could read, and massive deodar temples of hoary antiquity. As no archæologist had, up to that time, ever explored these out-of-the-way parts, I decided to go there in the following summer, the season *then* being too far advanced to render the crossing of the various passes safe for heavily loaded ponies.

Accordingly, the 4th of July 1921, found me at Achhabal ready to start next morning on the journey, of which the account published here was originally written as an official diary. Perhaps a word of explanation is necessary regarding its somewhat miscellaneous contents. Interspersed with descriptions of the monuments and inscriptions that I came across, are the rather lengthy legends and traditions that were collected, not only in Maṛev-Wāḍwan proper, but also in those parts of the Kashmir valley which I had occasion to traverse in the course of this journey. This circumstance gives the memoir a rather patch-work character which could not unfortunately be avoided, as the information collected was too meagre to be published in a separate memoir and too valuable to be entirely thrown out.

ANTIQUITIES OF MAṚEV-WĀḌWAN[1]

ACHHABAL TO WĀḌWAN

THE bridle path from Kashmir to Wāḍwan starts from Achhabal, where the cart road from Srinagar terminates.

The goal of my first day's journey was Brāri-āngan, which is about seven miles distant from Achhabal.

A little above Śāngas, a large prosperous village situated at a distance of about four miles from Achhabal, the road takes a short turn round the spur and enters the Kuṭahār valley. At this point, a few feet to the right side of the road, are four small round-headed niches carved on the face of a rock. Below the road on the left side is the Ḍāṭhināg spring. It is held sacred to Śiva, and was formerly the scene of a popular pilgrimage on the Pūrṇimā (full moon night) of Śrāvaṇa.

BRĀRI-ĀNGAN. The name, Brāri-āngan, Sanskrit Bhaṭṭārikā-āngana, "the courtyard of the Goddess," has a distinct odour of sanctity. The village which is so called is in reality a composite one, and comprises the three separate units of Umā, Brāri-āngan and Wŏtrus, each lying at some distance from the other two. The first derives its name from a spring which is sacred to Umā or Pārvati, the consort of Śiva. Perhaps it is on that account that the second village is called Brāri-āngan. Be that as it may, Brāri-āngan is a pleasant place enough, being situated at the head of a picturesque valley and nestling in the middle of ranges of low hills, whose soft green pine-clad slopes are singularly refreshing to the eye. Its only drawback is that in years of drought it is apt to become somewhat dry, and drinking water though easily obtainable is none of the best, unless it is brought from Rāmanāg, a small spring situated at a distance of nearly two miles from the village.

Ethnologically Brāri-āngan presents some interesting features. Over and above the Kashmiri Muhammadan peasants who form the bulk of the population, and an influential body of Pandits, a considerable number of nomad Bakarwāls (goat-herds) and a few families of Ṭhakkars from Kashṭawār have settled here. The Bakarwāls are a hardy race, and have cleared a large amount of forest land for their maize crops. They spend their summer in the high grassy glades of Wāḍwan and Zāji-nai and their winter in Riāsi and

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[1] Sir Aurel Stein derives this name from Maṛudvṛidhā, the name of the famous Vedic river, situated between the Chinab and the Jhelum. See his paper on "River-names in the Rigveda" (*Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 21-25).

Mīrpur, moving slowly with their huge flocks from mountain to mountain and glen to glen, and inflicting incalculable damage upon the State forests. Brāri-āngan serves as a halfway house between Wāḍwan and Riāsi on one side and Wāḍwan and Srinagar (wherefrom they draw their supplies of salt, etc.) on the other. Hence its importance to the community, and hence, too, the tenacity with which they fight for the possession of every inch of land, which they often swindle out of the more peace-loving Kashmiri peasant. As a matter of fact, practically every land dispute in which both parties are not Bakarwāls is taken up as a communal question by them, and they spare no efforts in fighting to the bitter end, often spending enormous sums of money, which the whole tribe subscribes, in following the case from tribunal to tribunal. As a race they are not troubled with much conscience in shedding blood, and the sequel of a protracted dispute is often the assassination of one of the parties.

The two or three families of Ṭhakkars who have settled here came from Dachhan in Kashṭawār a few years ago, at the instance of Pt. Vishva Nāth, a considerable Zamindar of Brāri-āngan, then serving as Forester in the Dachhan range of State forests. As they speak a variety of Kashmiri, and are in other respects also very nearly related to Kashmiris, they live on very amicable terms with the other villagers, which is very far from being the case with the Bakarwāls, who, like Ishmaelites, live severely apart, their hands being against everybody and everybody's hands against them.

When Kashmir passed from the hand of the Mughals to those of the Afghans after Nadir Shah's invasion of India in A.D. 1737, the Hindus suffered grievous oppression. But, more fortunate than their co-religionists elsewhere in the valley, the Pandits of Brāri-āngan obtained respite from persecution, at least for a few months[1] through the virtue or, as they call it, the miraculous power, of one of their own number. It came about in this wise.

The bigoted Pathān Governor, Jabbār Khān (A.D. 1819), being falsely informed by Ashraf Wōn, the village headman, that the Sādhu of Umā, Śiva Rām Jalāli, was the promoter of an intrigue with the Sikhs and Dōgras, ordered the confiscation of the Jāgīr attached to the sacred spring, and sent his own brother-in-law from 'Aishmuqām with some soldiers to enforce his orders. The young man came to Umā post-haste, and burst into the Sādhu's cell with his shoes on. As soon, however, as he had got in, he fell down senseless. His companions carried him out, but no remedies that they applied could restore him to consciousness until the Sādhu sent a few pinches of ash from his fire, which produced the desired result immediately.

[1] Jabbār Khān was Governor of Kashmir for only four months in 1819, the year of the Sikh conquest of the valley. Under the Sikhs the special privileges granted by Jabbār Khān to the Pandits of Brāri-āngan were extended to the whole community.

This occurrence made the Khān a thorough believer in the real holiness of the Sādhu. He posted back to 'Aishmuqām, and reported to the Governor all that he had seen, or rather all that he had been subjected to, at Umā, whereupon the latter hastened to Umā to pay his personal respects to the hermit and to confirm the previous grant of 500 Kharwārs[1] of grain (a quarter of the produce of the entire village). He also ordered that any Hindu who came to live in Brāri-āngan would be exempted from the Jazia (poll-tax).

This Śiva Rām Jalāli was the Kārdār[2] of Brāh, in Kuṭahār Pargana, about the time when Ranjīt Dev was ruling in Jammu. It is said that the Kābul king of the time—probably it was Timūr Shāh Durrāni (A.D. 1772 to 1793)—assigned a number of villages in Kuṭahār to Ranjīt Dev in recognition of the aid rendered by him in quelling a rebellion in the valley. Among these was Brāh. Every autumn, Brij Rāj Dev, the son of Ranjīt Dev, used to come over to take charge of the produce of his father's estate. On one of these occasions, when Śiva Rām had weighed all the grain that he had to give, a peasant came forward and shook the dust off his clothes. This trivial incident was the turning point of his life. He fell into a deep reverie, ruminating over the emptiness of the world's rewards and the vanity of human endeavour. Apostrophising himself, he exclaimed, "All the thousands of *Kharwārs* of grain that you grew, you have had to give up; even the dust thereof has not remained with you. Such is the reward that you have received for a whole year's incessant watching and patient labour." The end of the reverie was that he there and then broke his *qalamdān*[3] and betook himself to the cave of Brāri-Māji (Lady-Mother) near by. In the night the goddess appeared to him in a dream and commanded him to move up to Umā, which he did next morning. In a short time he became enlightened, and his former master, Brij Rāj Dev, on his next annual visit, waited upon him, and assigned him an annual pension of 500 Kharwārs of paddy. This grant, as we have seen above, was later on confirmed by Jabbār Khān, and, though originally intended as a personal gift to Śiva Rām, seems to have afterwards been converted into an

[1] Kharwār is the standard measure for weighing large quantities in Kashmir. In Kashmiri it is spoken of as Khār, which is the same as Khāri of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The Persianised Kharwār is taken to mean "ass's load." It is equivalent to a little over two maunds.

[2] Until about thirty-five years ago the Kashmir Government used to farm out the revenue of the valley to a class of people who were known as Kārdārs. Though they did not get any salary from the State, they occupied a semi-official position, inasmuch as they possessed, more by precedent than by law, the power of punishing any refractory cultivators who refused to pay their share of land revenue, which was mostly taken in kind. The Kārdār was bound to pay a fixed amount to the State, all the rest that he could extract from the cultivators, by fair means or foul, was his own property. This system led to many abuses and great oppression.

[3] Qalamdān was a papier-maché or wooden case in which State officials or business men carried their reed pens, inkpot, and other writing materials. The voluntary and deliberate breaking of the *qalamdān* was tantamount to the official death of the owner.

endowment for the sacred spring near which he lived. Śiva Rām had no use whatever for such a huge quantity of grain, which he was unwillingly forced to accept; but his attendant, Sudarśan, waxed great over it and used to feed a large number of men daily. The two immediate spiritual successors of the founder of the endowment maintained this practice, but now free guests are very few, and, unless they are officials, receive scant respect.

At a little distance from Brāri-āngan is a small natural cave, which is designated Rāmahoi, "the hole or grotto of Rāma." It is said to have been inhabited by king Rāmadeva (A.D. 1252 to 1273), who spent some time here in meditation and practice of austerities. He is reported to have entertained a project for building a town[1] in the vicinity, but does not seem to have achieved his purpose. He has, however, left his mark here, for almost everything bears the impress of his name. Thus we have Rāmanāg, "the spring of Rāma"; Rāmagur, "the horse of Rāma" (name of a mountain spur); Rāmataṭ, "the slope of Rama"; Rāmayār, "the pine of Rāma"; Rāmakan, Rāmabadar, and so on.

NŌBUG-NAI. On the sixth of July I struck camp before the rapidly spreading light of dawn had chased the last of stars away. A couple of hours' brisk walk in the early morning dews and through fragrant forests of pine and fir, alder and yew, hazel and chestnut, brought us to the summit of Hālakan Nār, whence an hour's run led us down to Nōbug, the chief village in the *nai* or glen of the same name. This charming little valley has been made the theme of a popular Kashmiri song, a circumstance which shows that its beauty was not lost upon the Kashmiri poet, who placed it at the head of the many beautiful spots of his country.

In striking contrast to the beauty of nature's vestments is the ragged and dilapidated aspect of the villages. The habitations are built entirely of wood; the roofs are sloping and consist of single planks overlapping one another, and nailed on to the rafters with large wooden pegs. Judging from the physiognomy of the people, it seems probable that they have a slight streak of Gujar blood in their veins. The stream which waters the Nōbugnai is composed of two main branches, the larger one of which originates in the Śilasar lake, and the smaller in the Tsuhar Nāg, both of them situated within a day's march from Nōbug. The valley is well cultivated, the principal crops being maize, amaranth and *nivar* (rice of an inferior but hardy variety).

I halted for the night at Guri-draman, situated three miles above Nōbug. This name is said to be a corrupt form of Gaurīdhāman, "the abode of Gauri."

[1] Jōnarāja credits him with the erection of a fort at Sallāra (modern Salar) in Dachhinpōr Pargana and of a temple of Vishnu at Utpalapura (modern Kākapār —*vide* Jōnarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Bombay edition, verses 110, 111.

From Guri-draman to Gauran, which is situated at the entrance of the Nāwakan gorge, the road ascends slowly for three miles or so. Thence begins the real ascent of the high mountains, which separate Kashmir from Wāḍwan and form the watershed between the area drained by the Jehlum and its tributaries on one side and that drained by the Chināb and its tributaries on the other. For the first four or five miles the bridle path passes through a dense forest of silver fir and spruce. The last two miles are bare, as they lie above the zone even of the birch trees. The only vegetation except green sward and numerous flowers is the thick scrubby undergrowth known in Kashmir as *veṭhur*, which, being capable of burning wet, is often used as firewood by travellers in these alpine tracts. The summit of the gorge is known as Pantsālbal.[1] It commands a fine view of the mountain ranges of Nōbug, of the beautiful Śilasar lake, and eastwards, of the great snowy peaks of Zānskār. Here begins the Margan Pass and the Tahsīl of Kashṭawār.[2] The point of demarcation between the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir is marked by a rude boundary pillar, built of dry boulders supporting an upright wooden post.

TSUHAR NĀG (Pl. I). The Margan Pass is 11,600 feet high above the sea level, and has a length of over three miles from Pantsāl-bal to Lutharwan, whence the real descent into the Wāḍwan valley commences. At a distance of about two and a half miles from Pantsāl-bal a steep goat track, rising up the precipitous cliff (known as Pathren) on the left side of the pass, leads through narrow glens to the Tsuhar Nāg.

The Tsuhar Nāg is not a solitary tarn. On the Margan, or east, side it is preceded by three oblong lakelets, the first two of which are called the Wātul or "scavenger," and the third is called the Dōb, "washerman." On its west side is another rectangular spring, which goes by the name of Māji, "mother." The Tsuhar Nāg itself is about three-quarters of a mile in circumference, and commands a splendid view of the Nōbug-nai, the Pargana of Kuṭahār, and the Ledar valley, with eternal snows of the far-off Pīr Pantsāl in the background. The other three sides are bounded by rugged grassless peaks, whose white and grey slopes form a strong contrast to the deep sky-blue waters of the lake, and in whose saddles the clouds play a never-ending game of hide-and-seek. Its grassy western bank is literally carpeted with white and blue *hāratār*, *kastūr*, *bindar*, *ṭekabaṭañ*, *tabari-pōsh*, *achhi-pōsh*, and numerous varieties of mountain flowers. This wonderful combination of the different aspects of mountain

[1] Pantsāl-bal, however, is not a proper name, given to this particular spot. Every high mountain in Kashmiri is called Pantsāl (Panchāla); *bal* signifies "place" (cf. Vethabal, Mārbal, Yārabal, etc.).

[2] Officially spelt as Kishtwār. The spelling given above reproduces the pronunciation of the Kashmiris as well as the natives of the place. The latter also pronounce it sometimes as Kāṭhwār. Both these appellations are derived from the ancient Sanskrit name, Kāshṭavāṭa.

scenery—the bleak white cliffs, the blue translucent sky, in which huge masses of clouds are seen trailing without intermission, the equally blue translucent lake, the green velvety western banks thickly covered with white, blue, vermilion, purple, and bright yellow flowers, the extensive and dangerous expanses of boulders and stone débris, which the partial melting of perennial snows and the rolling avalanches have brought down—makes the Tsuhar Nāg one of the most charming spots in Kashmir.

It would have been surprising, therefore, if the nature-loving Hindus had not clothed it with myth and legend, the more so, as the Kashmiris have always attached great sanctity to these *nāgas*. Tsuhar Nāg may be considered to be the guardian angel of Kuṭahār Pargana, though apparently not a drop of its water ever reaches Kuṭahār, a fact which has given rise to the comparison of a man who benefits strangers in preference to his own kith and kin, to the Tsuhar Nāg, which, though rising in Kashmir, empties nearly all its waters into the Chināb, which irrigates a considerable portion of the Punjab.[1] Popular folklore considers the five springs, which stand side by side here, as a family group. It is stated that the mother of Tsuhar Nāg once asked her eldest son to go about in the world and seek a place where both he and she might live together comfortably. When he returned after the search, he told her that he had been able to secure room for himself but none for her. She was naturally incensed at his unfilial behaviour, and cursed him, saying, "Go thou, and be foundered among the crags and rocks." A place in the ravine, as one goes up the Pathren slope towards the Tsuhar Nāg where the drainage of the glen above flows invisible under a large mass of white boulders with a great gurgling noise, is pointed out as the spot where this unnatural son is still expiating his sins.

She then commissioned her second son, Tsuhar Nāg, to go on the same errand. He returned with the report that there was plenty of room for her, but none for him. The mother was pleased at the loyalty of her son, and blessed him, saying, "Go thou, and live to reign useful and prosperous." She then gave him the pre-eminent place that he now occupies among the Nāgas of the surrounding country, and ensconced herself in a quiet little nook by his side (the Māji spring mentioned above). For his greater convenience she gave him the thirty-six[2] different artisans—the sweeper, the shoemaker, the washerman, the potter, etc.—who satisfied and still satisfy his multiplex requirements. Of these the *Wātul* alone, who combined in himself the double office of the

[1] It may be noted here that this defect could easily be remedied. Very little expense would have to be incurred in cutting a channel in the bank which bounds the lake on the Kuṭahār side. If this were done a large part of the Kuṭahār Pargana which is now arid, could be thoroughly irrigated.

[2] Thirty-six is a conventional number often used by the Kashmiris when speaking of things in general; *e.g.* thirty-six crafts, thirty-six parganas, etc.

sweeper and the shoemaker, has a separate habitation, probably because he was considered untouchable, being a Chanḍāla, while all the rest are huddled together in a single tarn, which goes under the name of its principal occupant, the washerman, though at times the potters' vessels are said to be visible to the eye of faith.

The Tsuhar Nāg plays an important rôle in the agricultural life of Kuṭahār. This Pargana is for the most part dependent for its crops upon the timely fall of rain. Whenever rain fails, the peasants of Kuṭahār, Hindus and Muhammadans alike, raise a subscription, and send the Brahman priests of Krūr to the lake, where they perform a sacrifice. The chief feature of the ceremony is the catching of one of the newts, which are found in large shoals in the shallow waters near the edges of the lake. When it is caught, it is put in a vessel filled with the water of the lake. Before starting on their return journey the priests cry out, "O Lord Tsuhar Nāg, we have carried a hostage to ensure the fulfilment of the agreement," which is, of course, a good rainfall. They then go away. It is said that this remedy for bringing about rainfall never fails, only sometimes the Nāga, like an astute lawyer, merely fulfils the letter of the agreement by causing rainfall in the mountains alone, and thus leaving the devotees in exactly the same tight hole that they were in before the sacrifice. But if the Nāga is clever, the Brahmans are cleverer still. When they catch him playing such tricks, they inflict terrible disgrace upon him, by placing the hostage they have brought away as surety for his good conduct in the custody of a scavenger, who is the lowest among the low-born in an Indian community. Even the puissant Nāga has no remedy against this chastisement. He has absolutely no choice but to supply some rain, at least to Kuṭahār, which done, the hostage must be taken out of his humiliating abode, and carried to the village of Khul-Tsuhar and dropped in the spring there. It is believed that the Khul-Tsuhar spring is another, perhaps the winter, residence of the Nāga. The Brahmans must, however, take specially good care of the hostage during the period of his captivity, for, should he die, the person in whose charge he was is believed to sustain the inevitable loss of a member of his family during that very year.

WĀḌWAN

The descent from the Margan Pass, where I camped for the night, down the Lutharwan forest into Wāḍwan is about seven miles. The meadows and mountain sides along which the road passes are covered with a greater variety—though perhaps not as great an abundance—of brilliant flowers than the Tsuhar Nāg slopes. *Wansōsan*, *hāratār*, *śilar*, *aṭanīl*, *tabaripōsh*, *mahāgunas*, *nīlakhan* and *sōlai* are most in evidence. Descent by the footpath is extremely trying. Anishan (height 8,143 ft.), the chief village in Wāḍwan, is a miserable hamlet of eighteen or twenty log huts.

Wāḍwan is a long, narrow valley, running approximately north to south. Its length from Sōkhananz,[1] at the head of the valley, to Maṛev is over thirty miles. Its average width is little more than a quarter of a mile. In places it is not more than a few yards. The Bhāgā, or, as it is locally called, the Maṛev-Send, flows through it. It is a river of large volume, fed by the waters of many hill streams which issue from the lateral valleys of Basman, Zāji-nai, etc. ; but its most important source, or perhaps auxiliary, is the Bōṭa-wath[2] glacier in the north. Pine and spruce are in abundance, but deodar is rare. The summer proper is very short, being hardly more than four months; but the sun is hot. The only crops are *grim*, buck-wheat, and amaranth ; maize and rice do not ripen. In appearance the people are very like the inhabitants of Nōbug-nai.

MANGIL NĀLAH. I camped for the night in a willow grove at Mangil, a tiny hamlet situated nearly three miles above Anishān. The Mangil Nālah is a long narrow glen, which connects Wāḍwan with Zāji-nai.

The distance from Mangil to the southern end of the Little Zāji-nai, which was my destination, is about 20 miles. The track, gradually ascending, winds along the torrent, which is also called the Mangil Nālah and terminates at the foot of the perennial snows of the Sari range, whence a short, sharp ascent of three-quarters of a mile or so leads to the Zāji-nai pass, which is probably between 13,000 and 14,000 feet in height. Mangil Nālah is splendid pasture land. The flowers are in far greater profusion here than at Tsuhar Nāg. A peculiarity of this *nālah*, as well as of Zāji-nai, is that, as a rule, flowers of different kinds are grouped in different plots, as if they were arranged in artificial parterres. The summit of the pass (Pl. II) commands a beautiful view of the emerald green glens of Mangil and Zāji-nai, sunk deep in the high mountains whose slopes are clothed in the dazzling white garb of eternal snow.

LITTLE ZĀJI-NAI The Little Zāji-nai is about ten miles long, and runs north to south. On its east side it is bounded by the Kalpakañ range. Its average width is not more than 200 yards. At the foot of the pass is a lakelet of the clearest blue water. A winding track of about three miles brought us down to the southern extremity of the glen, where the madly-rushing torrent is spanned by a snow bridge (Pl. III). Crossing over to the eastern bank I came to a short level plain formed by a sharp bend of the river. Near its edge was a small platform built of rough river boulders, in the middle of which stood a small lime stone block (Pl. IV) bearing a short inscription in Śāradā characters.

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION. The stone is known as Kalpakañ, "stone of doomsday." This name is borne also by the mountain range at whose foot it was found. It is difficult to say whether the stone borrowed its name from

[1] The name is given in the Survey Map as Suknis. [2] Called Bhat Khol in the Survey Map.

the mountain, or the latter from the former. It is said to have been put up by a shepherd in the reign of Zainu-l-'ābidīn (A.D. 1421-1472). The shepherd's residence was in the Great Zāji-nai, where traces of habitations and fields are said to exist to this day. Perhaps these belong to later times, when Chamal Singh[1] of Kashṭawār set up his retreat here, in the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign. He is reported to have built an underground fort here, in which he stored all the necessaries of life and carried on with impunity a life of depredation and plunder in the surrounding country.

The inscription is carved on a rough river boulder[2] (Pl. V) measuring 2·3 ft. in height by 2 ft. in circumference. It must have come from the bed of the torrent which flows by. Constant rolling under water has smoothed its sides and rounded its edges. The face on which the inscription is incised is flatter than the other sides. Judging from the irregularity of the letters and the scratches on the surface, it seems probable that the only engraver's tool employed was a sharp-pointed shepherd's knife. Over and above the inscription the stone bears engraved upon it a trident enclosed in a circle on the top, a figure possibly of a god seated on a throne, in the middle (judging from the trident the figure may have been that of Śiva), and a rudely-sketched horse at the bottom. The stone was broken into fragments, only four of which were found in the débris. This circumstance renders the inscription very difficult of interpretation. From the crude figure of the horse, as well as the occurrence of such phrases as *aśvapadam pratishṭhāpitam*, *aśvagu* (*ō*) *raksha* . . . however, it seems clear that the inscription commemorates the erection of a stable for the protection of horses and cattle, which then, as now, were sent to these pastures for grazing in summer. Again, from the occurrence in the inscription of such strange names as Rahuladhaka, Thuṅgaka, etc. (the former was the engraver), it seems not improbable that neither the donor nor the engraver belonged to the higher classes of Hindu society, though they had apparently, by contact with them, acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit of a sort not unlike Monk-Latin.

TEXT

Fragment No. 1

Line 1. ra śva v.
Line 2. rāj [y] ē

Fragment No. 2 (upper portion)

Line 1. Mayā gha
Line 2. ṭitaṁ Rahu
Line 3. ladhakēna
Line 4. Thuṅgaka
Line 5. putrēṇa.

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[1] See Appendix. [2] It is now in the Museum at Srinagar.

Fragment No. 2 (lower portion)

Line 6. vasa gu (?) . . .
Line 7. . . . stipalayudakēna
Line 8. [pu] trēṇa Suphalakapautrēṇa
Line 9. . . . pha aśvapadaṁ vinaya (?)
Line 10. [pra] tishṭhāpitam aśvagu (ō) raksha . . . .
Line 11. pu
Line 12. ṅga } two syllables each, which are nearly illegible.
Line 13.

Fragment No. 3

Line 1. Om saṁ 2 . . .
Line 2. śru
Line 3. d . . . h
Line 4. traiva
Line 5. stitah

Translation[1] of Fragment No. 2

I—UPPER PORTION.

Made (engraved ?) by me, Rahuladhaka, son of Thuṅgaka.

II—LOWER PORTION.

By. . . . stipalayudaka[2] (?), son of . . . , grandson of Suphalaka, was established a stable (literally, place for horses), (for) the protection of horses and cattle . . .

HĀJIKĀH PASS. For going back to Wāḍwan and thence to Maṛev I had the choice of two routes. The first, which was longer and easier, led over the Zāji-nai Pass (this was the way I had already travelled); the second was comparatively shorter, but included the crossing of the much steeper and higher Hājikāh Pass. I adopted the latter. The eastern slopes of the Hājikāh (height over 14,000 ft.) range were still covered in many places with big stretches of melting snows, walking over which was a very dangerous job. The chances were great that a wrong step would dash the unlucky traveller into the foaming torrent below, from which no human help could save him. Indeed, several members of the party had some nasty slides. The summit of the pass commands a very fine view of the Great Zāji-nai and the lofty peaks of Nŏn and Khŏn (height 23,447 feet). There were no traces of snow on the

[1] I have not been able to piece the three fragments of the inscription together, nor to make out much sense out of fragments No. 1 and No. 3. From Om saṁ, etc., the third fragment seems to contain the real beginning of the epigraph. The substitution of u for ō in *gō* (line ten of fragment No. 2) is interesting, as it gives the exact pronunciation of the old-fashioned Kashmiri Pandit, who always pronounces *gōtra* as *guthar*.

western slopes of Hājikāh, the reason, no doubt, being that it was longer exposed to sunshine. This side was profusely covered with the white bunch-like *gōndāri* flowers, intermingled with *kahzabān*, *bindar* and *kāripati*.

The little vale which stretches for over ten miles from the western foot of the Hājikāh Pass, and following the Guhi Nālah (Pl. VI) joins Wāḍwan proper at Sarkund, has been practically monopolised by Israel, the headman of the nomad Bakarwāls. He is a turbulent young fellow, and is at loggerheads not only with the local peasants, over whom he has established a sort of reigu of terror, but also with the Forest authorities, who are obliged to interfere when his herds inflict a more than usual amount of damage upon their young trees. But his wealth has hitherto enabled him to escape the consequences of his highhandedness.

MAREV

From Sarkund to Peṭhgām, the chief village in the valley of Maṛev, the distance is little more than nine miles. Maṛev has for centuries past dominated over both Wāḍwan on the north and Dachhan on the south, the reason, no doubt, being its greater prosperity and the more aggressive and warlike character of its people. The *maliks* of Maṛev are descended from one Lutfullāh Khān, who is said to have come from Bengal, at what time it is not known. But it is certain that in the Mughal times they were an important clan, being recipients of various favours from the Imperial Court, and were required to supply a contingent of 509 infantry and mounted soldiers. Their original patronymic seems to have been "Raina,"[1] which is often associated with their names in the Mughal *farmāns* and other documents, preserved in their family, though the alternative title of "malik" is not infrequent. Very probably there were two branches of the family, one of which continued the use of their old surname while the other styled itself "malik," though this latter title seems to have long been deemed more a personal distinction than a family name. For instance, in document No. II Zafar Malik simply calls himself "Zamīndār" of Maṛev-Wāḍwan, which also is the designation they received in the Mughal documents. Later on, however, they assumed "Malik" as their clan name, as is evidenced from Shah Shujā's letter to Muhammad 'Azīm Khān, Governor of Kashmir, in which they are styled "Malikān-i-Maṛēva," the Maliks of Maṛev.

Family tradition depicts these Maliks of Maṛev as a particularly turbulent tribe, whose chief amusements were rapine and murder, especially during the Paṭhān times. In alliance with the Maliks of Nōbug, they made frequent nocturnal raids upon Brang and Kuṭahār, the border Parganas of the valley of

[1] Can this be the same as the well-known Raina or Rāzdān (Sanskrit Rājānaka), which is a common family name among the Kashmir Pandits?

Kashmir. In the closing years of the eighteenth century the character of these hasty raids changed. About this time Mukhtār Malik of Maṛev, commonly known as Mukhta Rāja, organised the people of Dachhan, Maṛev and Wāḍwan into a regular force. Henceforward we have to deal not with foraying parties, but with large well-equipped expeditions. Mukhta Rāja cemented his friendship with the Maliks of Nōbug, whose intermediate position between Wāḍwan and the Kashmir Valley made their co-operation essential for the success of his hostile designs against the latter, by the formation of a matrimonial alliance between his son, Afzal, and the daughter of Nāmdār Malik of Nōbug. Thenceforth plunder and incendiarism became endemic in Brang and Kuṭahār. This state of affairs was allowed to continue, as Mukhta Rāja had contrived to win the favour of the various Paṭhān Governors of Kashmir, and particularly of Mīrhazār Khān (A.D. 1793), by an annual present of one hawk, four horses, four goats and twenty-one sheep. The villages subject to his depredations—sixty in all—being convinced of their masters' inability or unwillingness, probably both, to protect them, agreed to buy off the invaders by the payment of what was known as *phalpatshi*, which was an annual tribute per household of one *pānzuv* (three seers) of paddy, and three *man* (four and a half seers) of maize. This tribute was collected by Nāmdār Malik, who kept one-third for himself and remitted the remaining two-thirds to Mukhta Rāja.

Kuṭahār, however, soon relieved itself of the trouble. Lāla Galawān,[1] a Muhammadan cattle-lifter, organised a large party under his own leadership, and retaliated on Mukhta Rāja with such good effect that the latter was glad to leave the *Pargana* of Kuṭahār alone, after exacting tribute for eleven years.

Brang continued to pay tribute to Mukhta Rāja, until the time of 'Atā Muhammad Khān (A.D. 1807-1813), when the village of Biḍar refused to pay. Thereupon Mukhta Rāja's son, Afzal, invaded Brang and reduced the offending village to ashes. The Paṭhān Governor luckily happened to be an energetic man. He sent a Sardār of his, together with Sōda Panḍit of Brāri-āngan, who tracked Afzal to his father-in-law's house, dragged him out of the cattle-pen and carried him to Srinagar as a hostage to serve as surety for the future good conduct of his father. Mukhta Rāja, finding himself helpless, agreed, on being presented with the three villages of Tsari Tanz, Naugām, and Biḍar as a personal Jāgīr, not only to refrain from raiding, but also to remain in Kashmir for six months as hostage in lieu of his son.

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[1] This Lāla Galawān is another curious personality. Though he secured Kuṭahār against the molestation of Mukhta Rāja, his own rule was scarcely less harassing. It is said that he forced every Musalman peasant in the *pargana* who married his daughter to present her first to him. If he found her acceptable, he would keep her in his *haram* for a fortnight or so, and then send her over to her husband. He, however, not only let the Pandits alone, but even protected them, saying that it was not worth his while to kill a snake who was already dead.

Mukhta Rāja had a serious fracas with the Zānskāris, who had come on a hunting expedition to the Great Zāji-nai. He compelled them to submit, and to present him two of their women. Whether the present was exacted only on that occasion or more than once, is not known.

In the years immediately preceding the Ḍogra occupation of Kashmīr (A.D. 1846), Mukhtār Malik of Naugām (not the same as Mukhta Rāja) and Barkhurdār Malik of Nadrun had the greatest influence in the valley. They are said to have brought under subjection Zānskār, Kargil, etc. After a time Mukhtār Malik's power became predominent. His rival went to Jammu and invoked the aid of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, who deputed Wazīr Zōrāwar for the reduction of Wāḍwan and the completion of his conquest of Ladakh. As the invading force neared Tsenyar, which is only three miles from Peṭgām, Barkhurdār Malik stole away from the camp and came to Naugām, where he told Mukhtār Malik that Zōrāwar had come with the special purpose of capturing him. Mukhtār ran away during the night with his family, and took refuge in Kashmir, over which Gulāb Singh had no power then. In the meantime Barkhurdār led Zōrāwar over the Bŏṭawath (Bhŏt-khol) Pass to Kargil, whence they marched forward, and, after conquering and annexing Ladakh, returned laden with immense booty. Barkhurdār's contingent of 500 Māṛivs rendered yeoman's service in the expedition. On their return Mukhtār Malik was inveigled back to Maṛev, but, as his influence was still great, Zōrāwar found it more politic to make a friend of him. Therefore, instead of putting him in chains as a captive he converted him into an ally, though probably only a lukewarm one. He accompanied Zōrāwar and Barkhurdār on their second invasion of Tibet, but did not proceed beyond the already conquered territory. The expedition turned out unfortunately for the invaders. Both Zōrāwar and Barkhurdār were killed. After the lapse of half-a-dozen years or so a few Māṛivs returned to their native land. This was all that remained of Wazīr Zōrāwar's army.

The modern scions of Mukhta Rāja's family, though in the enjoyment of certain petty privileges, such as exemption from *bīgār* (forced labour), are little better than ordinary peasants. Rasūl Malik, his direct descendant, in whose possession the interesting documents published below are, is not even the headman of his own village, but even in his poverty he carries about him an unmistakable air of gentility and proud humility, which easily distinguishes him from the herd of upstart Nambardārs and Zaildārs of the place.

DOCUMENT I (Pl. VII).

Transcription.

Chūṅ Zubdat-ul-amāsil-i wālā qirān, Zīdar Malik Raina, zamīndār-i pargana-i Maṛev Wāḍwan, daulat-khwāh o qābil-ur-ri'āyat būd ; binā barān hasb-us-salāh-i

ayālat o hukūmat panāh, 'Umdat-ul-mulk . . . [wa sāir daulat-khwāhān.]. . . . . . tajwīznāma-i hukām-i sābiq rā manzūr dāshta bamūjib-i zimn, az ibtidā-i mukhtalif (?) az pargana-i . . ., dar wajh-i jāgīr-i mushārilaihi tankhwāh (?) namūda shud. Bāyad ki qānūn-goyān o mutasadiyān o muzāri'ān-i mufassala-i zimn mūmī [alaihi rā] jāgīrdār-i khud dānista, ānchi mālwājibī (?) wa haqūq-i dīwānī ki muwāfiq-i ma'mūl-i Kashmīr ast, ba mushārilaihi jawāb gōyand wa. . . . . . ki mūjib-i izdiyād-i zirā'at o ābādānī wa rifāhiyat-i hāl-i ri'āyā bāshad.

Tahrīr . . . . . . 3.

[SEAL]

Banda-e Shāh-i Jahāngīr Dilāwar Khān ast.

TRANSLATION.

Whereas the best of peers, the fortunate Zīdar Malik Raina, *zamīndār* of Maṛev-Wāḍwan Pargana, was loyal and deserving of kindness, therefore, with the recommendation of 'Umdat-ul-mulk, the shelter of dominion and governance, and of all well-wishers. . . . the proposal of former officers being sanctioned, from. . . . (?) of . . . *pargana*, is hereby granted as his *jāgīr*; it behoves that the revenue assessors, accountants and farmers, as detailed herein, should consider him as their *Jāgīrdār* and be responsible to him for all dues and *dīwānī* rights, as is customary in Kashmir . . . so that it may be the means of increasing the cultivation of land and the happiness of the subjects.

Dated . . . . . 3.

Seal.—Dilāwar Khān is the slave of Emperor Jahāngīr.

DOCUMENT II (Pl. VIII).

TRANSCRIPTION

Hū alghanī.

Iqrār namūd ba rizā o raghbat-i khud banda-i dargāh, Zafar Malik, wald-i 'Alī Malik Zamīndār-i sarhad-i Maṛev Wāḍwan bar ānki niwishta mēdiham ki Rahmān Malik wa Fatī Malik wa Ahmd Malik wa Fatah Malik wa Bahādur Malik wa Yūsuf Raina wa Fatī Raina wa Lāla Raina, zamīndārān-i sarhad-i mazkūr, dar barādarī-i īnjānib and; wa ānchi lawāzima-i barādarī-i . . . (jānibain ?) [bāshad,] ān rā ba anjām khwāhēm rasānīd; wa sabīl-i mūmī (*or* mūmin hā ?) 'īn ast ki itā'at-i sardārī- (or itā'at bardārī) khwāhand kard; wa ānchi āmadanī wa naf'a wa nuqsān-i sarhad būda bāshad, ānrā mutābiq-i jāgīr qismat namūda ba har kudāmī mē dāda bāshēm, wa dar hamrāhī . . . sarhad ba mushārilaihā mē karda bāshēm. Darīn bāb īn chand kalima ba tarīq-i ṣanad niwishta dāda shud . . . (ki sanad ?) bāshad. Ba hazūr-i shahūd-i jamā'at-i musalmānān niwishta shud, . . . Fī tārīkh 10 shahri Rabī'ul-awwal san 1111 . . . jalūsi wālā qalamī shud.

Wa agar kasē darīn qaul-o qarār bar gardad, nimak-i pādshāh darmiyān ast. Darīṅ bāb īṅ chand kalima batarīq-i . . . batārīkh-i shahr-i sadr.

Transcription of Seals and Remarks of Witnessess

Seal No. 1.—Akbar Allāh Daryā Khān; bar mazmūn-i matan muhri shahādat karda shud. Seal No. 2.—Min al wāqif, Muhammad Hāshim, Ba tarīqi shāhidi muhr karda shud. Seal No. 3.—Zafar Malik, banda-i dargāh, 1111. Seal No. 4.— . . . Alamgir. Ba hazūr-i faqīr iqrār karda. Seal No. 5.—Rizā Muhammad murīd-i Bādshāh Alamgīr: 1085. Signature No. 6.—Gawāh shud, Amīn Mīr.

Translation

God the Great.

Voluntary agreement of Zafar Malik, son of 'Ali Malik, *zamīndār* of Maṛev-Wāḍwan frontier:

I give this in writing that Rahmān Malik, Fati Malik, Ahmad Malik, Fatah Malik, Bahādur Malik, Yūsuf Raina, Fati Raina and Lāla Raina, *zāmīndars* of the said frontier, are my kinsmen, and whatever are the obligations of brotherhood, shall be discharged by us, and the duty of the aforesaid (*or* the faithful) is that they will show due allegiance (or allegiance due to the chief); and whatever will be the income and the profit and loss of the frontier, we shall divide amongst all according to the value of each man's estate. The above words were written by way of testimony to this agreement (?)

Written in the presence of the assemblage of Musalmāns.

Dated 10th Rabi'ul awwal 1111; Regnal year . . .

Should anybody violate this agreement, he will be faithless to the king's salt. To this effect these words (were written) by way of. . . Dated as above.

Seal No. 1.—Akbar Allāh Daryā Khan. Affixed my seal as witness to the contents. Seal No. 2.—Muhammad Hāshim, witness. Affixed my seal as witness. Seal No. 3.—Zafar Malik, etc., 1111. Seal No. 4.— . . . Ālamgīr. Agreed in my presence. Seal No. 5.—Riza Muhammad, servant of Emperor 'Ālamgīr 1085 (A.D. 1676).

Witness: Amīn Mir.

DOCUMENT III (Pl. IX).

Transcription

TASDĪQ

hāzirī ba ism-i 'Alī Raina waghaira zamīndārān-i sarhad-i Maṛev Wāḍwan āṅ ki ba mūjib-i mufassala-i zail āṅki (?) bā jamī'at-i khudhā hamrāh-i bandahā-i dargāh-i khalāiq panāh [ki] dar yasāq-i qara-i Tibat qayām-o iqtidām dāshtand, hāzir būdand. 509 nafar, mawāzī pānsad-o nuh nafar sawār-o piyāda, almuzā'if 1018 nafar.

Sawār, 10 nafar : (1) Mushārilaihi wald-i Sultān Raina, nafar
(2) Isma'īl Raina wald-i Sultān Raina, nafar
(3) Abdur-rahmān Raina wald-i Sultān Raina, nafar
(4) Bahādur Raina wald-i Sultān Raina, nafar
(5) Sangar (Shankar ?) Raina wald-i Sultān Raina, nafar
(6) Madārasī Raina wald-i Hasan Raina, nafar
(7) Fatī Raina wald-i Hātam Raina, nafar
(8) Fatī Raina wald-i Sultān Raina, nafar
(9) Yūsuf Raina wald-i Abdāl Raina, nafar
(10) Fatī Raina wald-i Mahdī Raina, nafar

Piyāda az bābat-i jamī'at-i mushārilahum : 499 nafar

Tahrīr . . . 24 Shahr-i shawwāl 1093.

Seal No. 1.—Hast Atīq-uz-zamān zi sidq-i zamīr banda-i bādshāh-i Ālamgīr. Seal No. 2.—Halīm (?) banda-i aurang-panāh 'Ālamgīr.

Translation

Certificate

of attendance in favour of 'Alī Raina, etc., *zamīndārs* of Maṛev-Wāḍwan frontier who, as detailed below, were, with their followers, in attendance on the servants of his Majesty during their expedition to the cold region of Tibet.

509 men, double of which is 1018, horsemen and foot-soldiers.

Horsemen—10

(1) The said ('Alī Raina) son of Sultān Raina, one man.
(2) Isma'īl Raina ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
(3) Abdur-Rahmān Raina ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
(4) Bahādur Raina ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
(5) Sangar (Shankar ?) Raina, son of Sultān Raina, one man.
(6) Madārasī Raina ,, Hasan Raina ,, ,,
(7) Fatī Raina ,, Hātam Raina ,, ,,
(8) ,, ,, Sultān Raina ,, ,,
(9) Yūsuf Raina ,, Abdāl Raina ,, ,,
(10) Fatī Raina ,, Mahdī Raina ,, ,,

Foot soldiers following the above, 499.

Dated 24th Shawwāl 1093 (= A.D. 1684).

Seal No. 1.—'Atīq-uz-zamān. Seal No. 2.—Halīm, servant of the refuge of the throne, 'Ālamgīr.

N.B.—The legend on the first seal is in verse, and may be translated as follows :

'Atīq-uz-zamān is, from the sincerity of his heart, the servant (or slave) of Emperor 'Ālamgīr.

DOCUMENT IV (Pl. X).

TRANSCRIPTION

SANAD

Ba ism-ı Sa'ādat nisāb Shaikh Burhān Allāh Karōrī (?) muhāl-i khālisa-i sharīfa āṅki (?).

Darīṅ wilā ba mūjib-i parwāna-i dargāhī mabligh pānzdah hazār o haftsad-o-nawad-o nuh rūpiya jāgīr az mauza'-i Naugām waghaira 'amala-i Pargana-i Maṛev waghaira az intiqāl-i Abdurrahmān Raina min ibtidā-i tārīkh-i faut dar 'iwaz-i sāliyāna-i Shukrullāh Raina wald-i Abdurrahmān Raina muqarrar gashta. Bāyad ki mabligh-i mazkūr hasb-uz-ziman ba 'uhda-i mushārilaihi wāguzarad (?)

Ba tārīkh-i 20 Shahri Muharram-ul-Harām San 42 Jalūs-i maimanat-manūs qalamī shud.

Seal.—Hasan Bēg Khāna-zād-i bādshāh 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī.

TRANSLATION

Certificate addressed to the fortunate Shaikh Burhān Ullāh Karorī (?) of the Crown Lands Department (?):

Whereas according to the king's *Parwāna* a *jāgīr* of Rs. 13,799 from the villages of Naugām, etc., in the *Parganas* of Maṛev, etc., has been granted on account of (?) the death of Abdurrahmān Raina from the date of his decease, to Shukrullāh Raina, son of Abdurrahmān Raina, in lieu of his annual pay (or annuity), the said amount may be allowed to the aforesaid.

Dated 20th Muharram, 42nd Regnal year (= 1699 A.D.).

Seal of Hasan Bēg, Slave of Emperor 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī.

DOCUMENT V (Pl. XI—RIGHT)

TRANSCRIPTION

'Arz-i Chahra.

Zamīndār Sāliyāna-dār (?).

Barkhurdār Raina wald-i 'Ināyat Raina ibn-i Zafar Raina zamīndār-i sarhad-i Maṛev Wāḍwan safēd pōst, farākh peshānī, Kushāda abrū, mēsh chashm, baland bīnī, amrad jawān.

64 . . . (?).

Seal No. 1.—Muhr-i niyāzmand (?) Mīr Mūmin Khān' fidwī-i bādshāh Ghāzī Muhammad Shāh. Seal No. 2—Khwāja 'Abdul Hakīm, fidwi-i bādshāh Ghāzī Muhammad Shāh; ahad.

TRANSLATION.

Description of (?).

Barkhurdār Raina, son of 'Ināyat Raina, grandson of Zafar Raina, *zāmīndār* of Maṛev-Wāḍwan frontier: fair complexion, broad forehead, eyebrows well apart, large eyes, high nose, beardless youth. 64 . . . (?).

Seal 1.—Mīr Mūmin Khān, Servant of Emperor Muhammad Shāh Ghāzī. Seal 2.—Khwāja 'Abdul Hakīm, Servant of Emperor Muhammad Shāh Ghāzī; first [regnal year].

DOCUMENT VI (Pl. XI—LEFT)

TRANSCRIPTION

M'alūm-i 'ālī jāh muquarrab-i khāqān Sardār Muhammad 'Azīm Khān būda bāshad:

Darīṅ wilā az tafazzulāt-i Ilāhī ba khūbī-i tamām bam'a-i mulāzimān ki ba rikāb-i nusrat intisāb mē būdand dar pargana-i Tibat Zānskār rasīda shud. Azīṅ taraf dar har bāb khātir-i khud rā jam'a dārand ki inshā-allāh-ta'ālā ba fazl-i Rab-ul-'izzat dar makān-i maqsūd rasīda khwāhad shud. Dar bāb-i mālikān-ī Maṛev Wāḍwand ki bajahat-iāṅ 'ālījāh az hazūr dastkhat irsāl shuda būd, wa āṅ 'ālījāh ta'aluqajāt-i khidmatguzārī ba jahat-i malikān-i mazbūra qalamī namūda būdand ki dar 'arz-i rāh-hā ba khūbī-i tamām āṅchi lāzima-i khidmatguzārī bāshad binumāyand. Lihāzā khidmatguzārī-i malikān-i mazbūra manzūr-i sarkār shuda ki dar 'arz-i rāh khidmatguzārī muāfiq-i dastras-i khud namūda and; wa lāzim bar ān 'ālījāh ast ki dar har bāb mutawajjah-i ahwāl-ī ānhā būda khūbī-i khud rā dirēgh nadārand, ki az ān 'ālījāh rizāmand bāshand. Hama auqāt ahwālāt-i khud rā 'arīza irsāl-i hazūr dārand. Darīṅ bāb tākīd dānand. . . .

Ghurra-i Ramazān San 1231.

Seal.—Shāh Shujā' (?).

TRANSLATION

Be it known to the honourable Sardār Muhammad 'Azīm Khān, courtier of the king:

Now by the grace of God, His Victorious Majesty with all attendants has arrived quite comfortably in the Paragana of Tibet-Zānskār. Please rest assured that, God willing, our destination will (by the grace of the Almighty) be safely reached. As regards the Maliks of Maṛev Wāḍwan an order (?) was sent to you from His Majesty, whereupon you directed the said Maliks that in guiding over the routes they should render all possible services. Their services being acceptable to His Majesty, as they did every service in their power in showing the routes, it is incumbent upon you, therefore, to look after them in every way and extend your kindness to them, so that they may rest contented. At all times please submit reports about yourself to His Majesty. This should be considered urgent and . . .

Dated, 1st Ramazān, 1231 (A.D. 1816).

Seal.—Shāh Shujā' (?).

DACHHAN

From Hanzal, the next halting stage, begins the tract known as Dachhan. The majority of the people who live here are (unlike those of Wāḍwan and Maṛev, who are Muhammadans) Hindus belonging to the Ṭhakkar (a

sort of Vaishya) caste. Though they observe the usual Hindu cūstoms and rites in birth, marriage and death, yet it must be admitted that Hinduism sits rather loosely upon them. Few of them wear the sacred thread. Marriage is not considered as a sacrament. The tie can be, and is often, easily broken. The husband of a woman whose affections have turned away from him is allowed pecuniary compensation, varying in degree from fifty rupees upwards, according to the rank of the parties, from her new lover's estate. Though irregular marriages are common, society is dead against a woman's leaving her present husband's house until her future husband has paid the compensation. As a rule, even in the case of virgins, the bridegroom has to purchase his bride. But among poorer classes, personal service in the father-in-law's house is ordinarily substituted for monetary payment. The duration of such service varies from two to seven years, five years being the usual period.

The Ṭhakkars understand Kashmiri, and speak it also, but with a strong provincial accent. Among themselves, however, they make use of a *patois*, which an ordinary Kashmiri finds it rather difficult to follow, but it is probable that it is much nearer the ancient language, which was spoken not only in the valley of Kashmir, but all over Uḍil, Ḍōḍā and the adjacent regions, than the more advanced, and therefore more corrupt, modern Kashmiri. In the valley of Dachhan, there are settled here and there a few families of Kashmiri Pandits, whose chief occupations are agriculture and priestcraft. They take girls from Ṭhakkar families as wives, but do not give their daughters to them in marriage.

The Ṭhakkar women of Kashṭawār, and more particularly those of Dachhan, have earned a very evil reputation for witchcraft. The more accomplished among these sorceresses are credited with extraordinary powers, *e.g.* changing themselves into the forms of lower animals, flying in the air, ability to grant life or death; but the ordinary witch has the power only of "casting the evil eye." Most of the inhabitants of Dachhan live in constant dread of their women, since every one of them is believed to be a potential witch. A harsh word to her would naturally be followed by dire calamities: for a witch has no mercy and is supposed to sacrifice even her own offspring in the performance of her dark and horrible rites. When a man is questioned about witches and their nefarious practices, a hunted look instantly comes upon his face. He steals furtive glances around him to make sure that no woman is within earshot, and speaks in a hushed voice. In most cases people are very reticent when replying to such enquiries, for witches are credited with the gift of second sight. I myself witnessed an incident which throws a curious light upon the haunting fear which seems to overshadow the lives of these people. The Chowkidar of Dachhan, who was an intelligent fellow, was sent to the village on some business. Half an hour later he returned with a huge mustard

blister on his head. In reply to my query he related a long story, the gist of which was that some hot words had passed between him and a villager, and that he had struck the man on the head, but, unluckily for him, the man's wife, who seems to have been a witch, happened to be present, and had afflicted him with a torturing headache as a punishment for his treatment of her husband.

There are, however, two persons who are supposed to be immune from the baneful influence of the witches. The first is the State servant and the second is the man of high moral character. With regard to the first it is said that Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, when he conquered Kashṭawār, took an express undertaking from the witches[1] that they should not, on pain of death, meddle with the employees of the State in the discharge of their duties. Regarding the second, it may be said that the chief reason why so many women of all ages and conditions of life—from the blooming young girl of sixteen to the tottering old hag of seventy, from the toil-worn landless peasant to the wife of the wealthy Zaildār—are supposed to dabble in this art, is the bringing of refractory lovers back to homage, or, if they are obdurate, punishing them for their defection. Naturally, therefore, a man of strong moral character, who is above the temptation of the fair sex, can afford to laugh at witchcraft, the principal object of which is the assurance of success in illicit amours.

There would be no end to the misery of the male part of the population of Dachhan and of Kashṭawār generally, if there were no *Shāgin*,[2] a class of people who are supposed to be able to counteract the spells of the witches and occasionally even to bring them to book for their mischief. It is probable that the power, so grossly exaggerated by popular imagination, which some women in these parts undoubtedly do possess, is due to the knowledge they have of herbs and their properties. For instance, *zaḍi*, a poisonous herb, is rendered tasteless and can easily be mixed with tea. The unsuspecting victim who partakes of it gradually loses all vitality, and becomes in a few months a complete wreck. Some poisons have an almost instantaneous effect, but the favourite potion which these ladies administer to the intractable lovers, or undesirable husbands, is *zaḍi*.

Dachhan, the chief village of the region of the same name, is situated on the left bank of the Maṛev-Send, which is spanned here by a strong wooden cantilever bridge (Pl. XII). This bridge is of modern construction, but it seems probable that it had predecessors dating back to remote times. At any rate, the authority of an inscription would appear to point to this conclusion.

The inscription (Pl. XIII) is carved on a big hard-grained granite boulder, the greater part of which is buried under ground. No attempt has been made

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[1] They are known as Ḍān or Ḍāgin, which is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit Ḍākinī, "a female goblin."

[2] This term is doubtless derived from the Sanskrit Śākinī, "a fairy."

to dress the surface of the refractory rock. The lines, too, are not straight. The range in length is from less than two feet in the case of the first line to over five feet in the third and fourth lines. The script is Śāradā.

Text

Line 1. Om, saṁ 12 Chaitra śu-
Line 2. ti 12 Śrī-Nantadēva-rājyē
Line 3. Śrī-chiri[1]-vam [vās][2] tavya Mahimaguptēna [sē ?[3]] tu kṛitēh [ah].
Line 4. Karmapati[4] Mahima rūpa . . . ru putrē (?).

Translation

Om, in Samvat year 12, on the 12th day of the bright half of Chaitra, in the reign of the illustrious Nantadēva, a bridge (?) was made by Mahimagupta, resident of Śri-chiri (illustrious Chiri).

The superintendent of the work (was) Mahima. . . .

The king Nantadēva, mentioned in the inscription, is most probably king Ananta of Kashmir, who reigned from A.D. 1028 to 1063. Kashṭawār, of which Dachhan forms a small part, must have formed part of the kingdom of Kashmir before his accession to the throne, for Kalhaṇa in recording his conquest of Champā and Vallāpura (modern Chamba and Ballaur) does not make any mention of it. He could not have marched into Chamba without having previous possession of Kashṭawār and Pāḍar, which lie on the direct route to it. If my identification of Nantadēva with Anantadēva is correct, the date Samvat 12 corresponds with the Vikrama year 1112 (A.D. 1055).

CAVES OF BAṬHASTAL. The distance from Dachhan to Baṭhastal and the cavern below it, is little more than a mile. The mouth of the latter is very narrow, and is situated immediately below a small waterfall. A second streamlet issues from it. These circumstances make entrance into it inconvenient, though not difficult. Internally it is said to consist of a long spacious chamber, quite dry except where the water actually flows. On a rock adjacent to its mouth is painted, in dark red ochre, a fine hand with long thin fingers. Legend ascribes this hand-print to Kunti, mother of the Pāṇḍavas.

Baṭhastal is a long, shallow, natural grotto (Pl. XIV), formed by the erosion of large masses from the face of a rocky ledge by the action of frost.

[1] I have not been able to identify this locality. The name which it most resembles is Kiār, a *nai* or glen in the immediate vicinity of Dachhan.

[2] The long vowel *ā* has been omitted here, but even where engraved is very slightly marked, cf. ā in rājyē in the 2nd line.

[3] This syllable was read as *sē* by the late Mahāmahōpādyāya Mukunda Ram Śāstrī, but the reading is very doubtful; though, considering the position of the inscription, which certainly occupies its original site, *sētuḥ* would give the most appropriate meaning. The *visarga* of *sētuḥ* is omitted.

[4] I have translated this as "superintendent of works." He was probably a sort of overseer or *mistri* to whom the execution of the work was entrusted.

But it is probable that for many centuries past its appearance has been much the same as it is now. This is proved by the existence of a large number of characters, in various styles and probably belonging to different times, which are painted in colours on its ceiling. Unfortunately, I did not find it possible to connect the various groups together. Even the individual groups are exceedingly difficult of interpretation. But it is certain from their form that some of them were written in, or even before, the third century A.D., and the rest could hardly be assigned to any date later than the fifth century A.D. These characters, therefore, possess the distinction of being the earliest specimens of Brāhmi writing so far found in Kashmir, and as such are of special palaeographical value.

What renders their interpretation wellnigh impossible[1] is not only their defaced condition—exposed as they have been to the inclemency of weather for over fifteen centuries, so that the wonder is not why they are defaced but how they exist at all—but in a far greater degree, the fact that the majority of them have been written over several times, probably at various periods by different hands and in different styles of script (Pl. XV).

The earliest series seems to have been written in dark red ochre, similar to that used in drawing the hand referred to above. The characters are straight, small and beautifully written. The best specimen of this style is the faintly visible phrase *Sachasamaya*

(Pl. XVI). It will instantly be observed that the forms of letters (the tripartite *ya*, and *ma* with its two arms crossed in the middle and joined at the base by a horizontal stroke) are exactly those illustrated in Bühler's Palæographic Table III, which he has compiled from the Kushān Brāhmi inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D.

Next after these—and partly written over them—follows a series of moderately cursive characters written in white or dull yellow colour, of which the best examples are the two almost identical groups *kva* (?) *va cha pa ta tha*

This style is followed by a series of scrawls (Pl. XVI) written with large whitewashing brushes, which swept over wide surfaces and described great

[1] I halted here for a few hours only, which afforded me just enough time to take the requisite photographs. It is possible that more time devoted to their closer study with the aid of a powerful lens and a scaffolding might have led to better results; but, unfortunately, I had neither the leisure nor the means to do this at that time.

ornamental flourishes. In his endeavour to demonstrate his mastery in cursive caligraphy, the scribe has so hopelessly confused the forms of the different letters as to make the identification of most of them practically impossible (Pl. XVI). According to legend, the writing in this cave contains the story of the marriage of Kunti,[1] the mother of the Pāṇḍavas.

DEODĀR TEMPLE AT KAIKŪṬ. Three miles beyond Baṭhastal further up the Nanth Nālah are the hot sulphur springs (Tatawōñ), which are frequently resorted to by the victims of rheumatism and other similar diseases. The road from Baṭhastal to these springs and thence to the village of Nanth, two or three miles higher up, is extremely difficult, and quite impracticable for laden ponies. Even the sure-footed mountain nags must be led by the hand, owing to the dangerous slipperiness of the granite boulders over which the track passes. It is probably for this reason that almost all the inhabitants of Dachhan, including the opulent Zaildārs and Nambardārs, wear only grass slippers.

My objective in this charming little vale was the locality known as Kaikūṭ, situated at a distance of thirteen miles or so from Dachhan. It has the distinction of possessing a temple built almost entirely of deodar wood (Pl. XVII). The temple is so far the only one of its kind discovered in Kashmir. It is said to have been built by one Rājā Mājān of Kashṭawār, about three hundred years ago.

It consists of a single square chamber, measuring internally 6′ 9″ on each side. Its height from the floor of the sanctum to the top of the spire is 21′ 5″. It is surrounded on all sides by a corridor, built partly of wood and partly of stone. The angles at the corners, as well as the jambs of the entrances of the corridor, are built, externally at least, entirely of pieces of wood. The remainder of the wall consists of alternating courses of timber rafters and dry stones, most of which are small chips.

The wall surfaces are divided into sections by the ends of small transverse timbers, which penetrate the thickness of the wall. The core consists entirely of dry stone masonry. The corridor was covered by a sloping roof, a few rafters of which still remain. Its eaves rested on a string-course decorated with a row of carved lozenges.

The external surface (Pl. XVIII) of the sanctum is composed entirely of wood. Its plinth is partly stone and partly wood, as is the case with the corridor wall, and is surmounted by a stringcourse of pendants carved in relief. The height of the wall from the floor of the corridor to its roof is 6′ 10″. It is divided into four sections : (*a*) the plinth proper as described above ; (*b*) and

[1] The villagers when asked what they thought of the writing, replied that it was "Gŏntamāji-hund-lag." Lag is abbreviated from the Sanskrit *Lagna*, "an auspicious moment." In modern Kashmiri *Lagna*, or *Lagan*, denotes the actual time of the marriage ceremony. The phrase, "Gŏntamāji-hund-lag," therefore means, "the marriage of Mother Kunti."

(*c*) the two sections in the middle, each of which is composed of five courses and is separated from the other by a moulding carved with fishbone patterns set point to point (>>><<<). The courses consist of long horizontal beams alternating with the ends of transverse timbers, whose interspaces are filled with small pieces of wood 1′ 3″ to 1′ 6″ long. The topmost course of the second section is composed of a single beam, which also serves as lintel of the doorway and is elaborately carved (Pl. XVIII). (*d*) Over this is the projecting bracket course. The doorway is small, measuring only 3′ 4½″ x 1′ 9″. Its frame is 8″ wide, and is very beautifully carved The decoration consists of floral scrolls, and a row of perforated hearts alternating with two denticulated borders. In the middle of the other three sides are small niches, similar in shape and size to the doorway and sunk only three inches or so below the surface of the wall. That the builder had no clear idea of the use of a niche is evidenced by its shallowness and the fact that the round moulding on the external surface of the sanctuary wall is carried right through the middle, where it does not serve any useful purpose.

The spire is carried 8′ 8″ higher than the level of the rafters of the corridor. The interspaces of its walls are open, and not filled with chips of stone.

The ceiling of the sanctum is only 6′ 7″ high. On the top of the spire a few beams are placed diagonally. At the point of their intersection is raised a pier which supported the Kalaśa, which is said to have resembled a ribbed melon in shape.

There are indications, supported by tradition, which show that the walls of the corridor were carried higher and supported the roof, which extended from the top of the spire downwards, and that the rafters of the corridor were intended principally to counteract the inward thrust of the steep roof, which, owing to its steepness, always pressed inwards the walls upon which it rested.

The temple faces east, and rests on a rubble basement 52′ 4″ square and 2′ 6″ high.

In the middle of the north side is a double flight of steps, 7′ 6″ in height and the same in width.

There is a retaining wall on the east side, which keeps the débris from falling into the compound.

CONCLUSION.

On my return from Kaikūṭ I found letters from Srinagar awaiting me. Some of them were of an urgent nature and necessitated my immediate return to headquarters. I started next morning, and, travelling by rapid marches, reached Srinagar on the 26th of July, exactly three weeks after the date of my departure.

The net results of the tour, though they did not come up to the expectations raised by Pandit Vishva Nāth's description, are by no means without value. The historical traditions collected in Maṛev and Brāri-āngan, etc., throw a light on the hopeless confusion that prevailed in Kashmir during the régime of the later Durrānī kings of Kābul. Their Governors devoted all their energy to the amassing of fabulous fortunes in the shortest possible time, for they always lived in the expectation of being superseded, without notice, by any new favourite of the hour. The people, Hindus and Muhammadans alike, were left uncared for to the tender mercies of every free-booting marauder who could raise a gang of desperadoes, to obey his behests. Neither life nor property nor honour was safe.

The Brāhmi characters painted on the ceiling of the Baṭhastal cave provide monumental corroboration to the existence of a close connection between Kashmir and the mainland of India in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, of which we had knowledge from literary sources.[1] They also incidentally illustrate the extent of this connection. If vestiges of Brāhmi inscriptions are found in such a remote and comparatively inaccessible spot as Dachhan, their profusion in the valley of Kashmir itself may easily be conjectured. That so little has so far been found, though not inexplicable,[2] is a matter of profound regret.

The inscription of Ananta confirms the indirect testimony of the Rājataraṅgiṇī regarding the possession of Kashṭawār by the kings of Kashmir in the eleventh century A.D. It also lends support to Kalhaṇa's statement regarding Ananta's conquest of Chamba; for Kashṭawār, being once in his possession, the invasion of Chamba was both easy and practicable.

The deodar temple of Kaikūṭ proves that the well-known wooden style of architecture, of which the best example is the mosque of Shāh Hamadān in Srinagar, was not confined to Muslim buildings alone, but was, in later times, successfully adopted (if not originally introduced) by the Hindus for the erection of their religious edifices.

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[1] *Vide* Hiuen Tsiang's itinerary, Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, etc.

[2] The very reasons which point to the abundance of ancient monuments in Kashmir valley are also accountable for their almost total destruction. If it was not difficult to build a temple or a stūpa in the easily accessible valley, it was equally not difficult to demolish it.

APPENDIX

CHAMAL SINGH

CHAMAL SINGH was a commander in the army of the Rājā of Kashṭawār, some time in the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign. He was in charge of the fortress of Āgasi in Gulābgaṛh, District Riāsi, when the Rājā of Rajaurī invaded Kashṭawār. He sent to his master for reinforcements, but none were forthcoming, as the latter's hands were fully occupied in repelling an invasion from Chamba. Chamal held out manfully for some time, but the invaders, having failed in open war, had recourse to subterfuge, in which they were successful. They persuaded or compelled some of the neighbouring villagers to show them a secret passage to the fortress. Chamal Singh was caught unawares and forced to surrender. The Rājā of Kashṭawār was so incensed at his negligence that he refused to have anything to do with him in future. The soldier thereafter took to the highway for his livelihood. He established his first retreat at Chamalvās, on the top of the Bānahāl Pass, and began to plunder the caravans and loot the country on either side of the mountains. Once, it is said, when he was on pilgrimage to Bavan (Mārtaṇḍa), he heard that a barber of Vernāg had found a treasure (an earthen vessel filled with gold coins). With half-a-dozen companions in disguise he went in the evening to the unsuspecting barber's house and asked for a night's lodging. His request was granted. When the family had retired he attacked the house. The barber raised a hue and cry, and the whole village fell upon them. Chamal's party escaped, but his brother Mangal was caught and slain, and his mangled remains were thrown to the dogs. As soon as Chamal reached his haunts, he invoked the aid of Ghiyās Malik of Maṛev, Nūr-ud-dīn of Uḍīl and Rūp Chand, the leader of the Gaddis of Ḍōḍā, all of whom were robber chieftains. They collected a force of twelve or thirteen hundred persons, and, forming them into divisions, attacked Vernāg. The first division fell upon the palace, in which was stored a good deal of valuable property. While the villagers were fully engaged in defending it the other division set fire to the village itself, and destroyed the whole of it. The barber was murdered and his family carried away. Thenceforward all the four robbers acted in concert, and established their headquarters in the Great Zāji-nai, which, being more remote, was safer from attack. The Mughal Subahdārs of Kashmir set on foot several expeditions for the reduction of this band, but none of them was successful, owing mainly to the extremely difficult character of the country and the watchfulness of the outlaws. No Kashmiri was allowed to go beyond the Margan Pass. Their farthest limit of admission

was the top of the Gyōn descent above Anishan. Even the safety of the shepherds of Margan depended upon their prompt and regular payment of *dahakōv*, that is a tribute of one in every ten head of sheep, goats, or cattle, which they had in charge. Once a Nawāb (*i.e.* the Mughal Sūbadār of Kashmir), considering his subordinates remiss in bringing the ruffians to book, undertook the task himself. He reached Gauran, in Nōbug-nai, and sent out parties to reconnoitre the neighbouring mountains. When almost all his troops had started off, two peasants came to him, and after paying their respects told him that Chamal Singh and Nūru-d-dīn were sleeping in a thicket close by, and that they could be easily apprehended if the Nawāb took immediate steps in the matter.

The Mughal in his impatience did not wait for his troops, but started off with barely a dozen and a half followers. The peasants led them into the depths of the forest, and the Nawāb actually found a couple of men sleeping on a stone slab, but before he could lay his hands on them, he was startled by his two guides pulling off their false beards and suavely introducing themselves as Chamal Singh and Nūru-d-dīn. At the same time their followers came pouring down from all sides, and, surrounding the handful of Mughals, cut off each man's right ear as a memento of their meeting; after which they set them free. When the Nawāb returned to Gauran he found his camp and baggage gone, and every one of his followers whom he had left behind deprived of one ear. Gradually the search parties came in, each man rejoicing in the possession of the solitary ear. The Mughals having now seen enough of Chamal Singh for the time being, beat a hasty retreat.

But Chamal was at last overpowered, though not in open fight. A Gujar, whose brother was a Nāik (Corporal) in his band, gave information to his Kārdār (Revenue Farmer) that Chamal with his three colleagues would attend the anniversary of the Ziyārat at Achhabal. Some hundred Mughal soldiers were disguised as peasants and kept ready by the Ziyārat. At last the Gujar pointed out four plainly dressed peasants walking quietly in the vast concourse of people as the renowned robber chiefs. They were allowed to enter the Ziyārat unmolested, but as soon as the prayers were finished the building was surrounded and they were captured. But even though unarmed they did not submit tamely, for before they were brought down they had killed six of their assailants. When Chamal was taken before the Mughal Sardār at Vijabrōr, he was ordered to be slain along with his companions. He, however, pleaded that he wanted the same mercy to be shown to him that he had shown to the Sardār only two days before. The Mughal was astonished at the man's audacity. When Chamal was interrogated, he stated that two days ago he had penetrated into his bed chamber as he was sleeping in the arms of his new bride. He wanted to kill him, but had spared him simply because of his and





PLATE XV



DIFFERENT ST[illegible] [illegible] THE CEILING OF THE [illegible]
[illegible]ATHEDRAL CAVE





[illegible] K[illegible] TEMPLE

